

## Message Text

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S E C R E T TOKYO 8397

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR JA

SUBJ: GOJ STATEMENTS ON DEFENSE SHARING, CONT.

REF: A. TOKYO 8212

B. TOKYO 7495

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE COVERS THEME 5 OF RECENT DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING JAPANESE FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES (REFTEL A). DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS, GOJ PROPOSALS FOR MORE CONCRETE DEFENSE COOPERATION ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE U.S. HAVE RESULTED IN CONSIDERABLE DIET AND PRESS DEBATE. THE EXCHANGES HAVE FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON THE MEANING OF QTE DEFENSE HARING UNQTE AND QTE DEFENSE COOPERATION UNQTE, AS WELL AS THE SENSITIVE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. WHILE NO STARTLING IDEAS HAVE EMERGED FROM THIS DEBATE, JDA STATEMENTS MADE DURING THIS TIME PROVIDE

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A GOOD SYNOPSIS OF CURRENT AGENCY THINKING ON THESE PROBLEMS.

END SUMMARY

1. IN REFTEL B, WE DESCRIBED JDA DIRECTOR GENERAL SAKATA'S FIRST STATEMENTS ON THE NEED FOR A MORE CONCRETE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U.S. INITIALLY, HIS PROPOSAL CENTERED ON A FORMAL QTE DEFENSE SHARING AGREEMENT UNQTE. HOWEVER, AS CITED IN THE JUNE 9 ASAHI, SAKATA WITHDREW FROM THIS POSITION, NOTING THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARILY APPROPRIATE TO FRAME DEFENSE SHARING IN A FORMAL AGREEMENT. RATHER, THERE SHOULD BE A STRUCTURE FOR HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS ON DEFENSE COOPERATION IN THE CASE OF EMERGENCIES.

2. SAKATA'S JUNE 3 DENIAL OF SHARING DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITIES BY THE ALLOCATION OF SEA AREAS TO THE TWO COUNTRIES (REFTEL B) WAS REPEATED IN THE DIET ON JUNE 9. THE JDA HAD BY THIS TIME SWITCHED ITS EMPHASIS FROM DEFENSE SHARING BY AREA TO SHARING BY FUNCTION (E.G., DEFENSIVE PATROL AND ESCORT DUTIES FOR THE MSDF, WITH BROADER COMBAT MISSIONS RESERVED FOR THE 7TH FLEET).

3. WHEN THIS CHANGE IN COURSE WAS PURSUED DURING INTERPELLATIONS ON JUNE 11 AND 12, SAKATA AND DEFENSE BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL MARUYAMA STRESSED THE POINT THAT DEFENSE SHARING DID NOT MEAN JOINT OPERATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN US AND JAPANESE MILITARY FORCES. DESIRED CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT AT THE POLITICAL AS WELL AS UNIFORMED LEVELS QTE TO ENSURE CIVILIAN CONTROL UNQTE. THE JDA OFFICIALS AGREED THAT, ALTHOUGH AUTHORIZED BY UN CHARTER, COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL: QTE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE IS LIMITED TO THE EXERCISING OF INDIVIDUAL SELF-DEFENSE. EVEN IN THE CASE OF COPING WITH A COMMON DANGER UNDER THE SECURITY TREATY, IT WILL BE LIMITED TO INDIVIDUAL SELF-DEFENSE UNQTE.

4. THE DIET DEBATE CONTINUED ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, WITH INTERPELLATIONS CENTERING ON THE APPARENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN DENIALS OF COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND THE POSSIBILITY OF SDF DEPLOYMENTS QTE TO THE HIGH SEAS AND OPEN SKIES UNQTE ALONG WITH U.S. FORCES IN JAPAN'S DEFENSE.

5. IN AN ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY THESE ISSUES THROUGH AN ASAHI INTERVIEW, THE DIRECTOR GENERAL NOTED HIS SURPRISE AT THE LACK

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OF HIGH-LEVEL ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JAPAN IN AN EMERGENCY SITUATION. USING THE THEME OF CIVILIAN CONTROL, SAKATA DWELLED ON THE NEED TO RAISE THE PRESENT MILITARY STAFF CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES TO THE LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP.

6. WHEN QUERIED ABOUT DEFENSE SHARING, SAKATA (APPARENTLY UNDER GUIDANCE FROM PM MIKI) SUGGESTED THAT QTE COOPERATION UNQTE MIGHT

BE A BETTER TERM. RECOLLING CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS ON SDF CAPABILITIES AND ROLES, THE DG DENIED THAT HE HAD EVER INTENDED TO SEEK A FORMAL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD COMPROMISE THESE RESTRAINTS. FURTHER, HE STATED THAT THE U.S. UNDERSTOOD THIS PROBLEM, AND WOULD NOT PRESS JAPAN TO ACCEPT ANYTHING LIKE EQUAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN DEFENSE. THE POSSIBILITY OF SDF DEPLOYMENTS OUTSIDE OF TERRITORIAL WATERS AND SKIES WAS MEANT IN A STRICTLY DEFENSIVE CONTEXT, ONE THAT WOULD NOT INVOLVE OPERATIONAL CONTROL BY THE U.S. INTEGRATION OF COMMAND IN AN EMERGENCY, I.E., COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE -- WAS AGAIN SPECIFICALLY REJECTED AS A GOAL OF JDA POLICY. SUBSEQUENT DIET INTERPELLATIONS HAVE SIMPLY RESTATED THESE POINTS.

7. COMMENT: IN SPITE OF EXHAUSTIVE INTERPELLATIONS AND HEAVY PRESS COVERAGE, RECENT PRONOUNCEMENTS ON DEFENSE SHARING DO NOT SUGGEST ANY DRAMATIC DEPARTURES IN DEFENSE THINKING. AS IN PAST MONTHS, SAKATA'S STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN INTENDED IN PART TO ENCOURAGE PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF DEFENSE AFFAIRS AS WELL AS TO TEST THE POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JDA AND SDF. WHEN THE TEMPERATURE HAS PROVEN UNCOMFORTABLY WARM, AS IN QTE DEFENSE SHARING UNQTE, JDA OFFICIALS HAVE QUICKLY CHANGED COURSE UNDER THE COVER OF SMOKESCREENS LIKE QTE CIVILIAN CONTROL UNQTE, QTE CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS UNQTE, QTE COOPERATION RATHER THAN SHARING UNQTE, ETC.

8. STILL, IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE PICTURE OF GOJ UNDERSTANDING OF DEFENSE COOPERATION THAT HAS EMERGED IS ONE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION, NOT UNIFIED ACTION. THE GOJ CLEARLY ASSUMES THAT SDF EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF JAPAN'S DEFENSE WILL FOLLOW A PARALLEL RATHER THAN A INTEGRATED COURSE WITH U.S. ACTIONS.

9. ANOTHER CONSIDERATION IN THE DEFENSE SHARING DEBATE IS ITS  
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RELATIONSHIP TO THE WIDER ISSUE OF NPT RATIFICATION. A SORE POINT IN WINNING SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION FROM SOME OF THE MORE CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS IN THE LDP HAS BEEN UNCERTAINTY OVER THE CONTINUING CREDIBILITY OF ARRANGEMENTS TO IMPLEMENT THE MST. CLARIFICATION OF THE INTENT TO WORK FOR A MORE PRECISELY DEFINED UNDERSTANDING OF U.S.-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION IS AT LEAST PARTIALLY IN RESPONSE TO THESE RESERVATIONS. WITH THE SHELIVING OF NPT RATIFICATION ANNOUNCED ON JUNE 19, AN IMPORTANT REASON FOR THE INTENSITY OF RECENT DEFENSE-RELATED DISCUSSIONS HAS, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, BEEN REMOVED.

10. HOWEVER, PROBABLY MOST IMPORTANT IN SAKATA'S CALCULATIONS IS HIS CONCERN OVER THE LACK OF POLITICAL LEVEL SANCTIONS FOR QTE STAFF STUDIES UNQTE BEING CONDUCTED BY THE MILITARY SERVICES. LIKE HIS PREDECESSOR, SAKATA FEELS VULNERABLE ON THIS POINT

AND IS TRYING TO DEVELOP A SCENARIO IN WHICH, FOLLOWING A MEETING WITH SECDEF, PUBLIC/POLITICAL LEVEL SANCTION WILL BE EXTENDED TO JOINT PLANNING. JDA SOURCES, HOWEVER, HAVE STRESSED THAT ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NOT FULLY PRIVY TO SAKATA'S THINKING, THEY DO NOT EXPECT ANY SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE TO RESULT IN PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS. BY SEPTTEL, WE ARE REPORTING ON THE BROADER CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT DEFENSE DEBATE.  
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